General VO NGUYEN GIAP

Once again we will win

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI 1966

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

More than two hundred thousand American troops are fighting in South Vietnam while the U.S. Air Force continues bombing North Vietnam.

How will the situation turn? What aspect will the Vietnam war assume? General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnam People's Army, has given an answer to these questions in an article published in the January 1966 *issue of* Hoc Tap (*Studies*), *the political and theoretical review of the Vietnam Workers' Party.*

The readers will find in this booklet a full translation of the article.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES
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I

AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS' FRENZIED ACTION TO SPEED UP THEIR WAR OF AGGRESSION TO A NEW STAGE

The Vietnamese people are facing an extremely serious situation: *Confronted with repeated bitter failures the American imperialists are frenziedly accelerating their aggressive war in the whole of our country, hurriedly introducing over 200,000 U.S. and satellite troops into South Vietnam, at the same time venturously attacking the North of our country in their war "escalation".*

The American imperialists' acts of aggression are very brazen. By the end of 1964, some months after the "Bacbo gulf incident" initiated by them to escape their predicament in South Vietnam, they had already there a military personnel of about 25,000 men disguised as "advisers". Early in 1965, still more alarmed by the great Binhgia victory of the South Vietnamese army and people they hastily sought ways and means to retrieve their situation. In February 1965, U.S. air and naval forces began their "escalation" by unremittingly bombing and strafing North Vietnam. A month later, the first U.S. marine units landed at Danang. On March 10, the U.S. National Security

Council decided to step up the sending of U.S. troops to South Vietnam.

In spite of new war efforts, the U.S. aggressors could not turn the tide as they liked. On the contrary, their military and political situation in South Vietnam continued worsening. The puppet army and administration were in danger of disintegration and collapse.

Stubbornly pursuing their aggression, in mid - 1965 the American imperialists took an extremely serious new step: the dispatch on a large scale of U.S. combat units to the South. On July 28, Johnson decided to introduce 50,000 more U.S. troops in a short period, so that the U.S. forces in South Vietnam amounted to nearly 130,000 in September and 185,000 by the end of the year, not counting one division of South Korean troops and many Australian and New Zealand units. One has to mention also the Seventh Fleet forces and U.S. air units stationed in Thailand, Japan, Guam, etc. which are constantly mobilized for the aggressive war in Vietnam. In all, on the South Vietnam theatre, the American imperialists are now using a 700,000 - strong ground force including over 200,000 men from the U.S.A. and satellite countries, and more than half a million puppet troops trained, equipped and commanded by them. They are feverishly preparing to bring in more U.S. troops, increasing the present effective by from 50 to 100 per cent in the near future.

Simultaneously with the increase of troops, the American imperialists have brought the aggressive war in South Vietnam and sabotage warfare in North Vietnam to greater fierceness, directly and seriously threatening the security of the Indochinese peoples.

The U. S. expeditionary force has invaded the South of our country and is trampling underfoot and massacring our people there while U.S. planes are daily bombing and strafing the North, destroying our people's socialist construction. The American imperialists are committing unheard-of crimes in our country. It is obvious that our entire people are confronted with a danger threatening the very existence of their Fatherland. In face of the U.S. aggression they must be aware of the situation and the enemy's schemes and acts in order to speed up their resistance for greater successes and final victory.

*

Why do the American aggressors hastily send a big expeditionary force to our country for a direct invasion? By the end of July 1965, after General Taylor had been forced to resign and McNamara back from Saigon had urgently pressed Washington for more U.S. troops to South Vietnam, the American press acknowledged that the reason for the new U.S. involvement was obvious, namely the defeat of the Saigon army and government. So the 500,000 puppet troops commanded by the Americans have not been able to cope with our people's patriotic war. *Our people's patriotic war prevailed over the U.S. "special warfare". The hurried dispatch of big contingents of the U.S. expeditionary corps to the South Vietnam theatre was an unprepared emergency move, a strategically passive move aimed at retrieving the worsening predicament of the puppet clique.*

As was pointed out over and over again, the U.S. imperialists' design is to turn South Vietnam into a U.S.

new-type colony and a military base for aggression. However, their efforts to this end during the past eleven years have gone through repeated and heavy setbacks, driving them into increasing passiveness and entanglement.

In the South of our country like in many parts of the world, faced with the growth of the socialist camp and the national liberation movement, to cover up their aggressive nature the American imperialists have applied *neo-colonialism with their customary policies and manœuvres*, hoping to enslave our people through their agents and by means of military and economic aid. All along the period between 1954 and 1959, since they brought Ngo Dinh Diem to Saigon and staged the "Republic of Vietnam" farce, the U.S. imperialists sought every means to carry out those neo-colonialist tricks. But right from the start the South Vietnamese people exposed the true colours of the American imperialists and their stooges, waged an unflinching political struggle to demand the correct implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, independence and freedom, and national reunification by peaceful means. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys mustered the puppet forces, used most cruel military measures to repress the people's political struggle and launched a "unilateral" war throughout four or five long years. But far from being extinguished the patriotic fire of the people blazed up with every passing day. By the end of 1959 the revolutionary movement shifted to the offensive, and by waging political struggle combined with armed struggle succeeded to foil the U.S. - Diem policy of pacification by violence. *In face of the revolutionary storm of the scattered uprisings of millions of peasants, the policy of aggression*

by traditional manœuvres of U.S. neo-colonialism in South Vietnam went bankrupt.

Stubborn in their scheme of aggression, the American imperialists have overtly to resort to new war methods to reach their goal.

The recourse to war to achieve neo-colonialism constitutes a heavy setback for the U.S. imperialists. Though driven to this extremity, they still try to hide their wicked faces under the disguise of an undeclared war, which they called "special warfare". That is a kind of warfare that many American military theoreticians do not regard as a real one as far as the aggressor is concerned. *As a matter of fact, that is a warfare waged by the native puppet reactionary force, the puppet army and administration, with the arms, equipment and other means supplied by the Americans, according to the American imperialists' plan and under the Americans' command, with a view to crushing the revolutionary struggle and destroying the patriotic forces in the South of our country.*

The first plan mapped out by the American imperialists for this war was the *Staley-Taylor plan*. They thought that with their enormous material force they could "pacify" the whole of South Vietnam within eighteen months. But they met with the extremely valiant resistance of the people there led by the National Front for Liberation. The Staley-Taylor plan came to grief and was buried together with the Ngo Dinh Diem regime which piteously collapsed on November 1, 1963.

In 1964, the U.S. imperialists put forward a new strategic plan, the *Johnson-McNamara plan* aimed at "pacifying" South Vietnam within two years. Again

they increased the inflow of war material, military and economic aid and advisers. They hastily stated that by the end of 1965, the withdrawal of their advisers would begin right after their victory, in an endeavour to force upon the American people and world public opinion the belief that this was not an American war. However, the resistance for national salvation of the Liberation armed forces and people in the South had gained more strength and greater successes which culminated in the glorious Binhgia victory. Soon the Johnson-McNamara plan shared the fate of the Staley-Taylor plan.

Hard pressed by this failure and predicament the U.S. imperialists took a step farther in their adventurist aggression by *raising their "special warfare" to its highest degree* in the hope of saving this strategy at a time when they have lost their initiative. Their scheme was:

1. To step up the aggressive war in the South by reinforcing the American and satellite combat units while consolidating the puppet administration, strengthening the puppet army and bolstering all the local reactionary forces as the mainstay and tool of the aggressive war.

2. To expand the sabotage warfare against the North mostly by air strikes, regarding it as part of their neo-colonialist war of aggression in order to threaten the North and save their situation in the South.

3. Together with the intensification and expansion of the aggressive war they carry out a so-called "diplomatic and psychological offensive" with double talk about "peaceful settlement" and "unconditional discussions" in an attempt to dupe public opinion and cover up their dark design.

However, the American imperialists can in no way shake the determination of our people in both zones to fight them for national salvation, nor can they minimize the wholehearted support of the people in the North for the patriotic struggle of their fellow-countrymen in the South, let alone stabilize the critical position of the puppet army and administration.

A general view shows that in the South as well as in the North in mid-1965, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen met with heavy setbacks:

— In face of the repeated offensives of the South Vietnam Liberation armed forces, the puppet army had been driven into further passiveness, an increasing number of puppet battalions were wiped out and the morale of the puppet troops has been seriously declining.

— The Saigon puppet administration has become ever more rotten and after thirteen coups d'état, utterly inefficient in the hands of young "unruly generals".

— The system of "strategic hamlets" continued disintegrating while the people's movement in urban centres was rising. The powerful upsurge of the army and people in the northern part of South Vietnam compelled the enemy to abandon part of his scheme to concentrate his forces on the pacification of the Mekong river delta. The rural areas controlled by the U.S. imperialists and their agents were markedly narrowed down whereas the liberated areas expanded incessantly and built into the firm rear of the liberation war.

The "escalation" against North Vietnam has proved unable to shake our people's determination and caused heavy losses to the aggressors. It has only aroused more

hatred among the population in the North, strengthened their resolution to struggle against U.S. imperialism and pushed forward their emulation in production and fighting to save the North and liberate the South.

The situation described above shows that the U.S. "special warfare" strategy brought to its peak has basically failed. The fact that faced with this failure Johnson recalled Taylor in July 1965 and hurriedly dispatched troops to South Vietnam at an accelerated tempo evidences the American imperialists' panic and proves that they lost command of the situation. This precisely led them to frenziedly stepping up their war efforts according to a new strategy aimed at reversing the situation and wresting back strategic initiative in the South Vietnam theatre. Their fresh move once again proves that the U.S. imperialists' intention to occupy the South has not changed at all. And thus the impudent nature of the American aggressors has been fully laid bare. They have thrown off their last mask and appeared with their true colonialist face.

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With the large-scale introduction of an American expeditionary force into South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have shifted their aggressive war to a new stage. It is not the simple abandonment of a new plan for another but a shift to a *new strategic stage* of their aggressive war. The main characteristic of this stage lies in *the American imperialists not only making use of the reactionary armed forces — i. e. the puppet army — as the main tool of the war, but also bringing in a U.S. expeditionary force for*

a direct invasion of the South while continuing to expand sabotage warfare, mostly by air strikes, to the North of our country.

In other words, *on the South Vietnam theatre at present, the American imperialists are using both a U.S. expeditionary force and the puppet army to wage their aggressive war.* Both of these forces play an important part, helping each other and co-ordinating their actions.

The U.S. troops form the core, serving as the military mainstay of the puppet army and administration and also the principal mobile force, an occupying force in important strategic bases and, at the same time, a strategic and tactical reserve, taking a direct part in the combat in an attempt to wipe out our people's revolutionary forces on the Southern theatre.

The puppet army which relies on the American troops to exist, consolidate and develop, constitutes both a mobile force on the battlefield and the main force to control and pacify the country. It is also the political prop of the U.S. troops.

Clearly enough, in military strategy, the American imperialists have gone beyond the limits and scale of their "special warfare". Of course, while stepping up their aggressive war according to their new strategy, their purpose still is to *continue achieving neo-colonialism in South Vietnam.* Whatever number of American troops they may bring in, they have to actively consolidate the native reactionary force—the puppet army and administration—as the necessary political and military mainstay of their colonialist war of aggression. It is precisely in the process of the implementation of their new strategic plan that the

Johnson clique harp on their "obligation" to keep their commitments, to increase "aid", etc., and frenziedly go ahead with most perfidious political, economic, cultural and social measures along the general line of neo-colonialism. They still maintain the puppet administration and strengthen the puppet army. Together with the military methods of aggressive war they feverishly step up political moves peculiar to neo-colonialism. *Hence in this stage as in the former theirs continues to be an aggressive war intended to realize the political aims of neo-colonialism; in other words, it remains a neo-colonialist war of aggression.*

The war that the U.S. imperialists have started and are pursuing in Vietnam with the South of our country as the main theatre of operations according to whatever strategic plan and in whatever stage, is invariably aimed at occupying the South and turning it into a U.S. new-type colony and military base. Therefore by its nature this is *an aggressive and unjust war.* With this correctly understood, we see clearly that whatever development it may take it cannot avoid the fundamental contradictions and the inevitable failure inherent to all aggressive wars and neo-colonialism in the present epoch, especially in the specific conditions of the South of our country. The more obdurately the U.S. imperialists carry on and intensify this war, the sharper those contradictions, the worse their situation and the more pitiful their ultimate defeat will be.

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II

OUR PEOPLE WILL CERTAINLY DEFEAT THE U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS

The situation created by the American imperialists in frenziedly intensifying their aggression in the whole of our country, has placed our people and nation before *the urgent task of mobilizing and uniting our entire people, stepping up our great patriotic war and resolutely fighting to defeat the aggressors in whatever circumstances in order to defend the North, liberate the South and advance towards the reunification of our Fatherland.* "At this moment the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation is the most sacred task of all patriotic Vietnamese," said President Ho Chi Minh.

Through many years of heroic and hard revolutionary struggle, under our Party's leadership our people brought the August Revolution and the anti-French imperialist resistance war to victory, liberated half of our country, and have made the North firmly advance to socialism. This revolutionary struggle is going on, we must mobilize the forces of the whole nation, and so we will certainly defeat the American imperialists and their henchmen to safeguard socialist construction in North Vietnam and achieve the people's national democratic revolution all over the country.

To defend the North constitutes the revolutionary task of the whole nation because socialist North Vietnam is our people's great revolutionary achievement and the solid bastion of the Vietnamese revolution. At present, American forces are invading the South of our country; to defeat them on this theatre not only aims at liberating the South but also at defending the North in an active way. That is why the task of our people in both zones are closely related. The Northern population must fight to crush the U.S. sabotage warfare and always stand ready to cope with the enemy and defeat him in the event he would extend the war throughout the country. At the same time they must wholeheartedly support the revolution in the South, fulfil its task as the big rear of the whole country. The Southern population who have been fighting unremittingly and with magnificent heroism during these last twenty years, must now endeavour to speed up their struggle with a view to liberating the South and defending the North, deserving the title of Brass Wall of the Fatherland.

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression to save our Fatherland is a great cause; it will be *protracted, hard but certainly victorious*. In this long-term resistance war our people must do their utmost to work against time and win ever greater successes. We are perfectly capable to do so because we can correctly appreciate the enemy's forces and intention, their strong and weak points, and also the forces and great capacities of our people in both parts of our country. Basing our judgment on an objective and scientific analysis of the relation of forces between the enemy and ourselves, we feel all the more determined to fight and defeat the aggressors in any

circumstances, all the more confident in the prospect of our struggle for national liberation: the enemy will certainly be defeated, we shall certainly win.

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U.S. imperialism is the international gendarme, the topmost imperialism, having the most powerful economic and military potential in the imperialist camp. In taking a direct part in the aggressive war it hopes it can rely on its material strength to overcome all difficulties in manpower and in political matters, thereby retrieving its predicament in the South. With a sizable expeditionary force which is to be eventually increased it hopes to wrest new vantage-grounds on the theatre of operations: first, to strengthen its military force in general and its strategic mobile force in particular, thus tilt the balance of forces in its favour; second, to control important strategic areas and set up firm bases as springboards to launch mopping-up operations or attacks against the liberated areas; third, to strengthen its air force, develop its superiority in this arm to thin out our forces and to strike deep into the liberated areas.

The American imperialists' scheme is to prevent the collapse of the puppet army and administration, to launch offensives aimed at wiping out the revolutionary forces in the South, especially the Liberation armed forces, to strive to consolidate the areas still under their control and gradually to carry out pacification by priority sectors, to attack the liberated zones and to wrest back some of the lost areas, to seek every means *to encircle and isolate the Southern theatre.* At the same time,

they intend *to intensify sabotage warfare* against the North *and carry on deceptive "peace offensives"*. Banking upon a force of over 700,000 men to be eventually increased they hope to realize the above-mentioned scheme by means of more radical and efficacious measures. They reckon that they can gradually win military and political successes, secure a position of strength to end the war with a solution favourable to them, or if need be, to prolong or expand the aggressive war.

The U.S. imperialists' design is very ambitious, their scheme most perfidious, and their military and political manœuvres extremely cruel and machiavellian. However, beside their limited strong points of a material nature they have *most fundamental weak points,* both political and military, in both strategy and tactics.

First of all, the U.S. imperialists are *the enemy not only of the Vietnamese people but also of the progressive people throughout the world.* In the present situation, whereas the socialist camp is growing, the national liberation movement surging, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the movement for peace and democracy developing, the forces of imperialism are continually declining. In the over-all relation of forces in the world the American imperialists are not in a strong but in a weak position and have to scatter their forces to cope with the situation everywhere. That is precisely why they cannot send to South Vietnam whatever number of troops without reckoning with their difficulties in every field in the world, right in the U.S.A., and on the Vietnam theatre.

The dispatch of an expeditionary force for the invasion of our country is itself fraught with most fundamental weak points that they cannot overcome.

First, the sending of American troops to invade our country, *exposes still more clearly the U.S. imperialists as aggressors and their lackeys as traitors, thereby the contradictions between the U. S. imperialists and our people become all the sharper.* Stirred by more hatred for the aggressors our entire people more broadly and more firmly unite in the National United Front against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. All the patriotic forces become more determined to fight for national salvation. Moreover, many Vietnamese in the enemy-temporarily controlled areas, even in the puppet army and administration, in the parties and organizations under the U.S.-puppets' sway, so far unaware of the real nature and intention of the American imperialists and their minions, now begin to see their true faces and more and more definitely side with the people to oppose them.

Second, the U. S. imperialists introduce their troops to invade our country at a time when *their "special strategy warfare" has fundamentally gone bankrupt, whereas our people's patriotic war has powerfully developed*, the Liberation armed forces have grown up, and the liberated areas have included the major part of the Southern population and territory. This precisely makes it impossible for the aggressors, though they may bring in several hundred thousand men, strategically to avoid losing command of the situation and compels them to scatter their forces in defensive as well as in offensive. It is not easy for them to wrest back the initiative as they wish. Instead, they will face the eventuality of increasing failures and deeper entanglement.

Third, due to the loss of political and military initiative mentioned above *no matter how modern its equipment*,

the American expeditionary force cannot bring into full play its combativeness and escape a defeat inevitable for all aggressive armies facing a whole nation resolute to resist them. Owing to the unjust character of the war, the morale of the U.S. expeditionary force which has no ideal to fight for, is low. Moreover, on the South Vietnam theatre, it has to cope with a people's war against which the U.S. strategy and tactics based on the bourgeois military conception proves powerless. The organization as well as the composition and training of the American army, generally speaking, are more or less unfit to help deal efficiently with our entire people's revolutionary war, not to mention great difficulties due to unaccustomed terrain and climate, and to the considerable needs in supply and logistics.

Fourth, the introduction of American troops into the South aims at preventing the collapse of the puppet army and administration, and creating favourable conditions to consolidate and strengthen the puppet forces. But the U.S. imperialists openly invade the South of our country at a moment when the puppet army and administration are seriously weakening. In this juncture, *the more open the U.S. aggression, the more isolated and differentiated the puppet army and administration, and the sharper the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and their placemen.* Those people in the puppet army and administration who still have some national feeling will become more conscious of the real situation and the number of those who cross over to the people's side will increase. Consequently, the introduction of more U.S. troops far from retrieving the predicament of the puppet army and administration aggravates the mercenary army's destruction and disintegration,

and the puppet administration's collapse in face of our people's resistance. When the American imperialists' crack troops are defeated by our people the disintegration and collapse of the puppet army and administration will be all the more inevitable.

Fifth, by starting the war in South Vietnam *the U.S. imperialists are more and more sternly condemned by the peace-loving people in the world*. Now that they openly send their troops for a direct aggression against the South and use their air force to strike at the North, an independent and sovereign socialist State, they are meeting with increasing energetic opposition from the peoples of the socialist countries and the world's progressive people including the American people.

The strong points of the U. S. imperialists are limited whereas their weak points are basic ones. As the aggressive war goes on the latter will become more visible and more serious and will surely lead the American imperialists to ignominious failure.

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Above are the American imperialists' strong and weak points after some hundred thousand enemy troops have been introduced into South Vietnam. On our side, we do not enjoy the advantages attached to a country with a wide territory and a large population, but our people are resolved to carry on their just patriotic war to defend our life and wrest back our independence and freedom. In this fierce and protracted revolutionary war against such a cruel enemy as American imperialism our force has unremittingly developed, and has many a time put him into confusion.

Weak in equipment and technique, and in economic potential, we have absolute political and moral superiority, a correct leadership, the strength of an entirely united people, the invincible people's war and the sympathy and strong support of the world people. It is certain that as we fight, we will score ever greater victories and become stronger. These are the fundamental factors accounting for our people's final victory in the sacred liberation war against U. S. aggression for national salvation. Whatever the number of expeditionary troops that the aggressors may bring in they can in no way escape the inevitable: they will be defeated, the ultimate victory will be ours.

First, *our Party has a correct revolutionary line.* This line is the condensed expression of the clever and creative combination of Marxist-Leninist general principles with the concrete practice of our revolution. This is the line of the people's national democratic revolution progressing to socialism in a former colonial and semi-feudal country. Our Party's line has been tested in our people's long and heroic revolutionary struggle and led our revolution from victory to victory. In the light of this line, Vietnam has been the first colony to rise up and defeat the mighty army of an imperialist power — France — to liberate itself; the North of our country is also the first State to take the path of socialism in Southeast Asia. Today our people have the honour to be in the forefront of the fight against the chieftain of imperialism — U.S. imperialism. This correct line is also that of the revolutionary armed struggle of a small country which rises up to fight and defeat an enemy many times stronger, the line of people's war developed to a high degree with a creative and substantial content. A correct revolutionary line is the surest guarantee for

our people's final victory in their just struggle against the American imperialists.

Second, *our entire people are united in the fight against the aggressors to save our Fatherland.* North and South are one-mindedly determined to defeat the American invaders and their lackeys, ready to make every sacrifice rather than lose their independence and be enslaved. This iron will reflects our people's tradition of indomitable resistance against foreign aggression. It has brought our people together; millions like one are resolute to fight to defend our country and win back independence, democracy, unity and peace.

Our compatriots in the South have closed their ranks in the fire of the revolutionary struggle, fighting for twenty years, now overcoming countless difficulties and braving a cruel enemy with a firm resolve to march forward, to fight and to win. Today our people in the South have the National Front for Liberation, a broad organization possessed of a correct line and programme and enjoying high prestige at home and abroad. Starting the fight with spike-boards and mantis-like guns they have built big and heroic Liberation armed forces comprising three categories of troops, having high combativeness, skilful strategy and tactics, versed both in guerilla warfare and large-unit operations and credited with the wiping out of big units of the puppet and American forces. The heroic Liberation armed forces have developed everywhere and have been conducting ever more powerful operations in all the South Vietnam theatre from Benhai River to Camau Cape, from the Western Plateaux to the delta countryside and even in the vicinity of big towns. At present the liberated zone accounts for the major part of the population and

territory of the South; the Front's policies are being gradually applied there, a new life under an independent and democratic regime is being built and in fact the liberated zone has become the image of to-morrow's entirely liberated South Vietnam.

Meanwhile, the people in the North are steadily progressing to socialism with an ardent love for the Fatherland and for socialism and with an uprecedented political and moral unity. The North is not only a source of inspiration but also a solid rear for our entire people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation thanks to its excellent political system and its strong economic and national defence potential. This is a favourable condition which did not exist in our former resistance against the French colonialists.

Since the extension of the war to the North, the D.R.V. army and people have been resolutely fighting and have initially foiled the enemy's sabotage air warfare. In response to the call of the Party Central Committee, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh, our people in the North have launched a strong movement for national salvation, carrying out production and fighting at the same time to defend the North, give wholehearted and all-out support to the liberation revolution in the South, and make a substantial contribution to the common victory of the whole nation.

The Vietnamese people have a tradition of unity and unbending resistance against foreign invasion, but if we look back to its millenary history as well as to the revolutionary struggle of the past many years, we shall realize that never have they united so firmly and so

broadly as today, and never has their will to fight off the aggressors and defend the country been promoted to such a degree.

Third, *our weapon is the invincible people's war* and we have gained experiences in conducting it. If it can be said that in nowaday's military affairs there is a greater invention than atomic weapons, i.e. people's war, then the Vietnamese people have effectually contributed to the perfecting of this new arm and are keeping it firmly in their hands. It has developed in Vietnam's historical, political and social conditions and obtained a very high degree with an original and extremely substantial content.

In our country people's war has developed according to the general laws of all revolutionary wars and also to the specific laws of the Vietnamese society and theatre of operations. Hence it is a revolutionary war waged by a whole people on all planes, a revolutionary war fought by a small nation in a narrow and thinly populated country, having an under-developed economy, relying on the strength of an entire people united in the struggle. With it the people will finally win an enemy originally many times stronger.

Generally speaking, people's war in Vietnam is revolutionary armed struggle developing on the basis of the masses' political struggle brought to a high degree. The revolutionary masses' boundless strength has pervaded the revolutionary armed forces and given them an extraordinary capacity to fight and to win. Moreover, the outstanding characteristic of the people's war in our country at the present stage is that, in its very process, armed struggle and political struggle are very closely coordinated,

supporting and stimulating each other. Therefore the slogan "*mobilize the entire people, arm the entire people and fight on all fronts*" has become a most lively and heroic reality. Armed struggle in South Vietnam has budded forth from political struggle carried to its peak, and in guerilla warfare or in limited* regular warfare, the operations of the armed forces have always been carried out in accordance with the principle of closest co-ordination with political struggle. This principle was observed in the scattered insurrections in the countryside as later on in the movement to destroy "strategic hamlets", in the uprising of millions of peasants in Nambo** as more recently in that of millions of peasants in South Trungbo.*** Armed struggle in the South has another characteristic: Whether in the form of guerilla warfare or limited regular warfare, waged with art it is fully capable of solving the question of getting the better of a modernly equipped enemy like the U.S. army. In the South, not only can the regular army but also the regional army and the people's militia and guerilla force wipe out American and puppet troops and foil their most modern tactics. This is a new development of the revolutionary military art the main content of which is to rely chiefly on man, on his patriotism and revolutionary spirit, to bring into full play all weapons and technique available to defeat an enemy with up-to-date weapons and equipment.

In the North people's war is also developing in the heroic fight against the U.S. sabotage warfare, in the

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* This is to translate what the author means forms of warfare approaching regular warfare (Transl.).

** Former Cochinchina.

*** Former Annam.

movement among the army and people to down American planes and to turn our North into a vast battleground to counter and foil the enemy air strikes and inflict heavy losses upon the U.S. modern air force. They may attack more fiercely but they can by no means cut off our main communication lines, stop our people's productive activities, let alone shake their determination to oppose the American aggressors, defend the North, and give unqualified assistance to the South.

People's war in Vietnam is the product of our people's resolute and indomitable revolutionary struggle, and also that of the revolutionary struggle of the world people in our times. People's war has led our nation to spendid victories in the revolutionary struggle against Japanese fascism, in the resistance war against French colonialism, and has brought our people great successes in the past few years both in the South and in the North. The great people's war of the Vietnamese nation will certainly outdo the aggressive war of the American imperialists in the eventuality of U.S. imperialists increasing their expeditionary force up to several hundred thousand men.

Fourth, *we enjoy the warm sympathy and wholehearted support of the people of the brother socialist countries, and the progressive people the world over, including the American people.* Our people's struggle against U.S. agression for national salvation aims not only at liberating half of our country still under domination but also at defending socialist North Vietnam. This grand struggle is the spearhead of all progressive mankind against American imperialism, a great contribution to the world people's revolutionary struggle for peace, national independence,

democracy and socialism. That is why the brother socialist countries have given their unreserved support to the stand and line of struggle of our government and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and provide all-out assistance to our people to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The working class and toiling people of the capitalist countries, the people of the newly-independent countries also side with us, expressing their sympathy and giving their support. All great international conferences and quite recently the Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana addressed warm feelings and very encouraging words to the fighting Vietnamese people and sternly condemned the American imperialists' aggression. Even in the U.S.A. the struggle of the American people against the Johnson Administration's aggressive policy is involving ever-larger strata, taking on bold forms such as self-burning, burning of draft-cards, holding up of the transport of troops to Vietnam... This movement is gaining momentum everywhere on a scale unprecedented in the history of the United States. Never in the history of their revolutionary struggle have our people enjoyed such widespread and strong world sympathy and support as today.

What is the development of the war on the Vietnamese theatre of operations since the U.S. imperialists introduced their expeditionary force on a large scale into South Vietnam and, at the same time, began to intensify their air attacks on North Vietnam?

Our entire people like all progressive mankind have seen that the U.S. imperialists' open invasion of our country unmasks their true face as invaders, and the aggressive and unjust character of the war they have kindled is laid bare before world public opinion. The justness of

our patriotic struggle and the absolute political supremacy of our people become all the more evident. Our enemy himself has realized that invading our country with his own troops he has suffered a political failure. Nevertheless he thinks that with the increase of his armed forces and the superority of his equipment and technique, he can defy the protest of the world people and trample underfoot all elementary principles of international law which demand the sovereignty and independence of all nations be respected; he thinks that he can overcome all political difficulties to reach his final goal which is to seize the southern part of our country.

The question is: Who will win in the fight between U.S. imperialist aggressors who pursue an unjust cause and our people who pursue a just one? Throughout the past eleven years, every time the U.S. imperialists launched a new aggressive scheme the same question was raised. The liberation struggle of the heroic South Vietnamese people has supplied an eloquent answer: whatever trick the American imperialists may resort to they will inevitably fail in the end. And the fundamental law of the great patriotic struggle of our fellow-countrymen in the South throughout the various stages is: *the further the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys engage in their scheme to enslave the South of our country, the deeper they will be bogged down and the greater their defeats, whereas the more determined the Vietnamese people in their struggle the greater their victories.*

Today the question as to who will win in South Vietnam is more pressing than ever for in the present juncture there has emerged a new factor: the introduction by the American imperialists of some hundred thousand troops. Can these massive reinforcements reverse the situation?

Can the Vietnamese people who have recorded many great successes in their just struggle, win new victories in face of direct aggression by such a modern army as the U.S. imperialists' ? Can they defeat the American expeditionary force ?

We have here above analysed the enemy's and our strong and weak points, assessed his and our strength and capabilities and drawn the conclusion that the enemy shall be defeated in the end and we will certainly win. This is the theoretical side of the problem. On the other hand, since the introduction of a big U.S. expeditionary force, *the realities of our people's struggle on the South Vietnam theatre have further enlightened the question and is demonstrating that our foregoing theoretical conclusion is entirely correct.*

If in the past when the American imperialists brought Ngo Dinh Diem to power and began to tackle the Collins plan or later on when they put forth the Staley-Taylor plan and the Johnson-McNamara plan, they were extremely optimistic and reckoned that their dark design would certainly be achieved. Recently when they started sending a large expeditionary force to South Vietnam they believed that they could turn the tide. They were confident that within a short time the face of the aggressive war would change, that with their best divisions and brigades and strategic and tactical air force they would be perfectly capable to change the relation of forces, set up solid defence positions, launch bold offensives, and push ahead their pacification by priority sectors, thereby not only preventing the collapse of the puppet army and administration but also consolidating and strengthening the puppet forces. The

Pentagon generals hastily declared that at the very moment when big U.S. combat units were introduced into the South and the war was intensified, there were wide prospects of a quick victory. When their initial military operations did not meet with appreciable counter blows they proved still more optimistic and declared that they had shifted to the offensive and compelled the South Vietnam Liberation troops to switch from large scale actions to small unit operations. They also made feverish preparations for attacks on all fronts in the dry season in order to wrest back the initiative and hold it more and more firmly, and drive the South Vietnamese people into an ever more serious defensive position.

However, reality has fallen short of the U.S. imperialists' expectation and purposes. From the point of view of an over all *strategy* in the Southern theatre of operations, is the enemy's strategy offensive or defensive? Is he following the strategy of lightning attack and lightning victory or that of protracted war? As regards operations on various battlefields is he bending his energies in the coastal theatre where he can bring into full play the power of his technical weapons, or in the hinterland theatre where he dreads most to face defeat? Is he concentrating on the Nambo battlefield where lie great political and economic centres or on the High Plateaux that he considers an important strategic position? As regards co-ordination with the puppet troops, is he concentrating on independent or joint operations? These are strategic questions to which the enemy himself cannot give clearcut answers, for the American expeditionary force is strategically engaged in a "blind tunnel". The most outstanding feature of the military

situation over the past several months is that not only the South Vietnam Liberation armed forces have kept on stepping up guerilla warfare but they have developed large-unit actions. If for the whole year 1965 they wiped out over 200,000 enemy troops, including some 50 battalions completely annihilated, in the last five months, since large U.S. contingents landed in South Vietnam and especially since the beginning of October, enemy casualties ran to more than 100,000 men, among them about 25 battalions entirely put out of action including 5 American infantry battalions and a number of American armoured units. This hard fact shows that despite the introduction of several hundred thousand troops the U.S. imperialists cannot reverse the situation. It shows that, confronted with the widespread and powerful development of the people's war, they have no other alternative than to scatter their forces over all theatres of operations and thus cannot avoid being driven into the defensive, and they cannot easily wrest back the initiative and bring into full play the combativeness of their troops. The outstanding feature of the military situation on the South Vietnam theatre is that not only have the Liberation troops successfully turned to account their offensive position since the Binhgia victory, but right after the introduction of a big U.S. expeditionary force they still hold the initiative and promote their vantage-ground on an ever larger scale. No wonder that in face of the heavy setbacks suffered by the expeditionary force McNamara and the American brass hats have shown dismay and toned down, declaring that the war in Vietnam would be long, or that U.S. troops' present attacks are only for defensive. We did not yet

mention the moral crisis of the American troops who fear hand-to-hand fighting, leave behind their casualties on the field when hard pressed, throw away their weapons and munitions when withdrawing, are afraid of the jungle. sun, wind, malaria, especially of the Liberation troops and even of the ordinary Vietnamese including old women and children, so much so an American general, speaking of the U.S. expeditionary force said that "its upkeep was expensive but its fighting skill poor"*. We did yet mention either their great difficulties in logistics and supply, as admitted by the American press: "Once again the U.S. is fighting a big war on the ground and finding itself far from ready to fight that war: the big bottleneck holding up combat operations in this war is logistical." This growing confusion certainly aggravates the United States' economic and financial difficulties and "gold haemorrhage", and reduces its competitive capacity on the world market.

At present, it is evident that from the point of view of military strategy the American imperialists are at sea. And what about their *tactical position?* Though the trial of strength between the U.S. expeditionary corps and the Liberation armed forces has begun recently the latter have proved perfectly capable of checking all of their enemy's tactics.

The Vantuong battle can be considered to be another Apbac** for the American expeditionary force. The U.S.

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* *Retranslated from French (Tranl.).*

** *A victory of the Liberation troops over an enemy ten times stronger in January* 1963. *In this battle the U.S.-puppet helicopter tactics and armoured car tactics were foiled for the first time.*

deployed a far superior force, including crack troops supported by armoured units, air force and navy to attack a unit of the South Vietnam Liberation army. The result was that far from being wiped out, the Liberation troops fought most valiantly and put out of action many enemy troops. The Vantuong battle which the American generals think can be likened to the Second World War fiercest hand-to-hand engagements was a great victory of the South Vietnam army and people, foreshadowing the tactical failure of the U.S.expeditionary force.

After Vantuong came Chulai, Danang, Datcuoc, Baubang, Pleime, Dongduong and many other battles in which many American and puppet troops were wiped out.

Those resounding and repeated victories prove that:

— the U.S. *most solid bases* are not immune from attacks.

— the American *crack infantry units* such as those belonging to the First Infantry Division can be wiped out (and wiped out at the rate of one or several battalions in a single battle).

— U.S. *crack air cavalry units* such as those of the First Airmobile Cavalry Division so much boasted by the U S. Defence Secretary can be put out of action.

— *puppet units*, though supported by the U.S. expeditionary force, continue to be cut to pieces, not by the battalion but by the combat group as at Pleime, by whole battalions in a single battle like at Dongduong, or by the regiment as at Dautieng.

— U.S. troops, whether in the defensive or in the offensive, can be wiped out not only by the Liberation army, but also by *regional troops, militiamen and guerillas*.

Those splendid exploits are accomplished at a time when the enemy is actively trying to have the best use of his technical weapons including B.52 strategic planes which have made already more than 100 sorties, while spraying chemicals to destroy vegetation and crops, and savagely resorting to poison gases in a number of operations. They are achieved at the same time as great feats performed by the army and people in North Vietnam deal deadly blows to the modern U.S. Air Force's prestige in their continued efforts to defeat the enemy's sabotage warfare.

The significance of those achievements scored in the annihilation of the American and puppet forces lies in *the Liberation armed forces and people of heroic South Vietnam being perfectly capable of putting out of action crack units of the U.S. expeditionary corps, gaining more initiative, stepping up their attacks on all theatres and winning ever greater victories.* In other words, the strategy and tactics of people's war can and will certainly prevail over the strategy and tactics based on the outmoded bourgeois military conception of the American army; in theory as in practice, *the people's war will certainly prevail over the U.S. imperialists' neo-colonialist war of aggression.*

The great victories of the army and people in both zones since the American imperialists started a direct aggression against the South of our country greatly encourage our entire people and rejoice our friends in all continents. We do not feel at all complacent at these initial successes. We definitely guard against subjectivism and never under-estimate our opponent, for American imperialism is a cruel and perfidious enemy who, moreover,

has a considerable military potential, an enemy not only obdurate but also quick in drawing lessons from experience to contrive fiercer and more ruthless fighting methods. However, the lively reality of our struggle for national salvation over the past eleven years has strongly convinced our people and the people's armed forces in both zones that *we will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors under any circumstances.*

The heavy defeats of the expeditionary corps right in its first operations on the Vietnam theatre have caused the U.S. imperialists and their valets many more difficulties, not only military but also political and economic. Far from being strengthened the puppet army and administration are deteriorating as they have lost faith in their patron's modern army. The anti-war movement in the U.S.A. is developing with every passing day while the internal contradictions in the Washington ruling circles are mounting.

In view of this situation the American imperialists are planning to send more combat units to South Vietnam, increase the U. S. expeditionary force by fifty, one hundred or more per cent. They are plotting to intensify their sabotage air warfare against the North, while threatening to expand the war to Laos and neutral Cambodia. President Johnson has talked about taking "hard steps" in Vietnam. Secretary of State Dean Rusk has also stressed, "We will not withdraw from Vietnam" for the U.S.A. must "keep its commitments". The American imperialists' familiar trick is to couple the intensification of their aggressive war with a ballyhoo about their "will for peace". This time, along with preparations for new adventurist

military moves, the U.S. administration opens a fraudulent "peace campaign" on a large scale. The Johnson administration's "peace efforts" are only aimed at placating public opinion at home and abroad which has been energetically protesting against their aggressive policy in Vietnam.

But, whatever honeyed words the American imperialists may use they cannot deceive the Vietnamese people and the peace-loving people throughout the world. There has not been the slightest change in their basic design. They cling on to South Vietnam to keep Vietnam permanently partitioned. They do not want to withdraw their troops from the South and to recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people; they cynically arrogate to themselves the right to bomb and strafe the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign socialist state, and go to the length of demanding from the Vietnamese people a compensation for the interruption of their bombing of North Vietnam. The essence of the "unconditional discussions" hoax is to compel our people to accept their terms.

We must heighten our vigilance in face of the enemy's perfidious scheme. We must step up our entire people's patriotic war, resolutely fight until victory, no matter how many hundred thousand troops the U.S. imperialists may dispatch to South Vietnam and how far they may escalate their sabotage warfare against North Vietnam. Our people are determined not to shrink from any sacrifice to bring our great struggle against the American aggressors for national salvation to final victory.

III

NORTH VIETNAM IS DETERMINED TO FULFIL ITS GLORIOUS TASK IN THE NATIONAL CAUSE

In our people's struggle aginst U.S. aggression for national salvation, North Vietnam holds an extremely important position and assumes a very heavy and glorious task.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. From South to North, our entire people are closing their ranks within an ever broader front against U.S. aggression for national salvation on the basis of an ever steadier worker-peasant alliance. As the cruel American imperialists are frenziedly stepping up their aggressive war against both parts of our country, we must mobilize the forces of the whole nation to defeat them. This demands from our people tremendous efforts, boundless courage and determination to fight and defeat the enemy under any circumstances; and record ever greater successes until final victory is won.

Our fourteen million heroic Southern compatriots from Camau Cape to the temporary demarcation line, are well aware of their task and resolved to fulfil it. Their

indomitable spirit and the steady steps they are making inspire us with pride, confidence and enthusiasm.

In North Vietnam, in view of the new situation, our task, as is pointed out by our Party, is *to carry out production together with fighting, mobilize manpower and wealth, be determined to check the enemy's sabotage warfare, and wholeheartedly support the revolution in South Vietnam*. At the same time we must prevent the American imperialists to expand their aggressive war to the whole of our country.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the Government, headed by our respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, all our Party, all our people and army have achieved great successes in fighting as well as in production, in establishing the material and technical bases of socialism in accordance with the new orientation and concrete measures required by the new situation, in building the people's armed forces and people's anti-aircraft defence, in preparing the rear-areas and building fighting villages... ; in meeting the requirements of the armed forces and improving the people's livelihood, in mobilizing the people, especially the youth, to enlist in the army and participate in the "three ready's" movement, and the women to take part in the "three responsibilities" movement, as well as in securing communications and transport and maintaining order and security, etc.

But these are only initial achievements. Our struggle for national salvation set forth urgent and heavier tasks now that the American imperialists have brought in a big expeditionary force to invade the South of our

country and carry on sabotage warfare in the North on an ever larger scale. Our entire people and army should make more strenuous efforts to be able to discharge their duties. They must better realize the situation and the task it commands, better organize their fighting with a view to greater victories, stand more ready to fight and defeat the enemy under any circumstances, better organize production, more rationally mobilize and use manpower and wealth, etc. The people's armed forces must together with the entire people raise higher their determination to fight and win, showing themselves to be an iron-like army of a heroic nation, worthy of the Fatherland and their Southern compatriots, resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors. In short, we must do all that is necessary for the victory of our struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

As the liberation war develops in the South, to fulfil their glorious and heavy task in the present stage our people in the North must hold aloft the "Determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors" banner in all fields, all branches, all strata of the people and all localities. First and foremost Party cadres at all levels must pay due attention to carrying out a profound and broad political and ideological education. This work must aim at making the entire Party, army and people clearly realize the enemy's scheme and capacities, the present situation and the task of the Vietnam revolution in both zones and enhance their patriotism, socialist consciousness and determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors in whatever situation. They must be resolved to go ahead and fight to the end, ready to accept any sacrifices and hardships, absolutely confident in the Party's leadership and in the final victory.

On the basis of a correct implementation of the above-mentioned task regarding political and ideological education, we must, in mobilizing all our Party, all our people and army, achieve a radical improvement in organizational work and working methods to fit in with the war situation. Only by so doing can we concentrate our efforts on the building of a solid and strong North Vietnam in economy and national defence, mobilize all our forces for the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, and heighten our spirit of relying mainly on ourselves, at the same time turning to the best account the valuable aid of the fraternal socialist countries, and secure for the whole North in general and each province, town and zone in particular, an ever steadier basis so that the people and army may have enough food to fight and win.

In everyday life, making all people, branches and localities, of their own accord and actively, contribute their best share to the people's war and people's national defence, is a decisive factor vouching for the success in the fight against the enemy's destruction warfare and all his other sabotage activities.

As the vast rear in the sacred struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, *the North Vietnamese people must constantly redouble their efforts, wholeheartedly support the South Vietnam revolution in all fields, do their utmost practically to help our national fighting forces against U.S. aggression grow rapidly and steadily, so as to record great victories when favourable conditions occur.*

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Johnsonism is the concentrated manifestation of a most blatant, most ruthless and most perfidious policy of

neocolonialist aggression of U.S. imperialism. The war in the new stage will be fierce, at the same time the American imperialists will resort to more machiavellian manœuvres. But our people will not let themselves be impressed by their force and deceived by their hypocritical allegations. We are resolved to fight them, and will certainly defeat them.

Many a time in our history our people opposed and defeated the most cruel invaders for a whole epoch.

For over thirty years now under the correct and clearsighted leadership of our Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh, our people have risen up to liberate themselves. Vietnam has been the first colony to counter the Japanese fascists successfully, then defeated the French imperialists' aggressive army. Today, the Vietnamese people have the great honour of valiantly fighting against the American aggressive expeditionary force.

We are quite aware that we are fighting the most ferocious and the worst imperialism of our times, the sworn enemy not only of our people but also of the world people, of peace, democracy and socialism.

We know well that our struggle is fraught with sacrifices and hardships, but full of glorious victories. It is our people's greatest cause not only in our revolutionary history but in the age-old history of our struggle against foreign invasion. This just cause meets our people's most sacred aspirations, and also those of the revolutionary people all over the world.

Never have the traditional indomitability and revolutionary heroism of our people been so strongly developed as today. Never have patriotic enthusiasm, love for

socialism and hatred for the aggressors so vigorously stirred up our people as at present. Never also has our people's revolutionary cause gained support and encouragement from progressive mankind.

To conquer independence and peace, to defend the North, liberate the South, and advance towards the reunification of our Fatherland, to bring a worthy contribution to the world people's revolutionary struggle, the heroic Vietnamese people in both zones are determined to fight to the end in order to lead their great struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation to a brilliant victory. The American imperialists' neo-colonialist war of aggression will certainly fail. Final victory will surely be ours.

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